

T H E
Royal Martyr

Lamented, in a

S E R M O N

Preached at the

S A V O Y,

O N

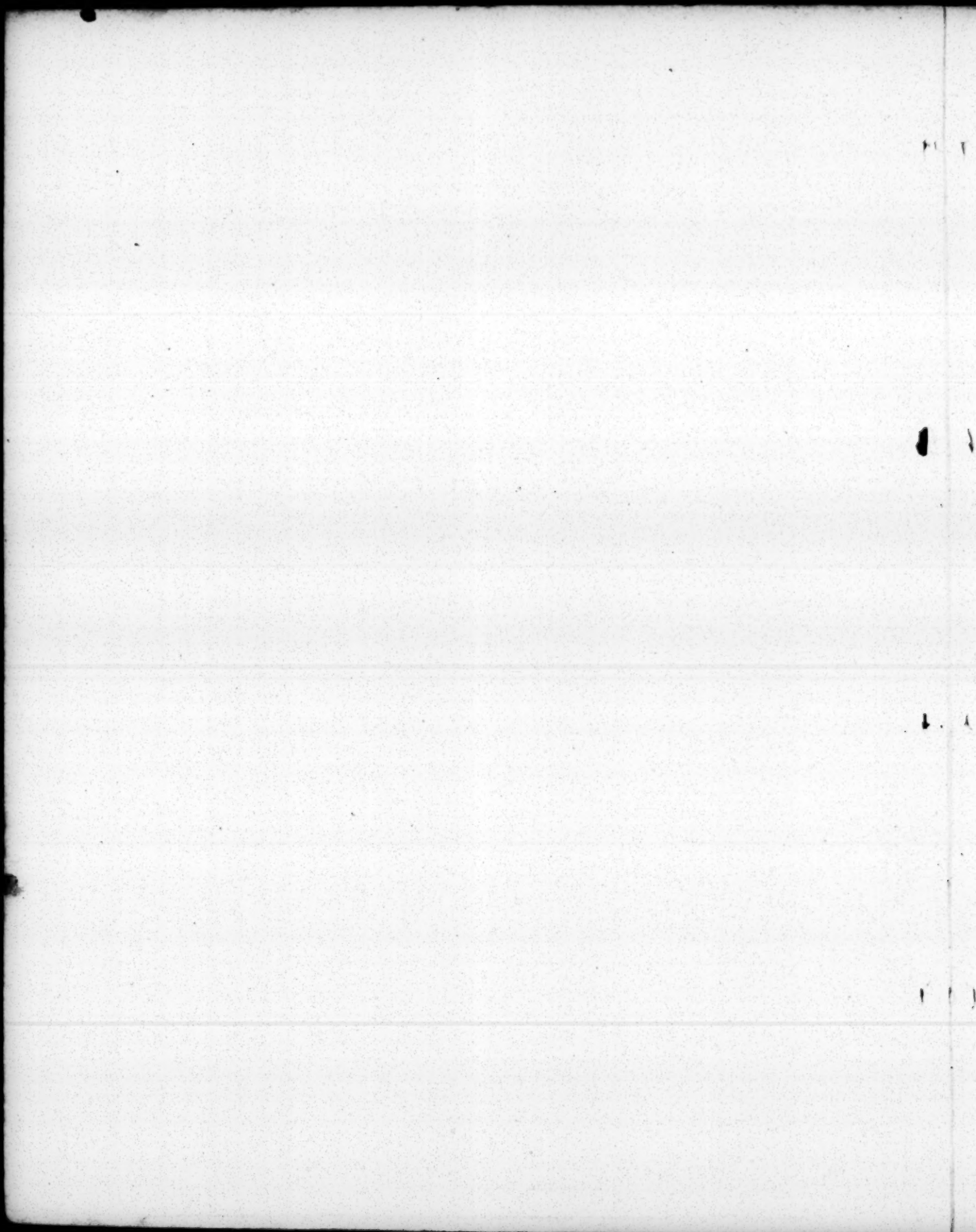
King *CHARLES* the *MARTYR'S*

Day, 167⁴₅.

By *Gilbert Burnet*.

L O N D O N,

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Preached at the

SAVOY, on King CHARLES the
MARTYR'S Day, 167 $\frac{4}{5}$

2 SAM. 2. 12.

And they mourned and wept, and fasted until even for Saul and for Jonathan his Son, and for the people of the Lord, and for the house of Israel, because they were fallen by the sword.



Here is no Maxim so general, or so constant, but that it may allow of some exception ; and therefore though the Wiseman after all his experience, his most searching Observations, and the great prospect he

had of the order of second Causes, and the temper of mens minds, does pronounce, *there was nothing new under the Sun* : Yet this day , and that never-enough-lamented Villany we now remember, must put in for an exception from that rule, which did indeed exceed all the common measures of wickedness so far ; that as there is nothing in any History like it, so when the World is some Ages older (if such an action be not an *Omen* that its end is near) this will scarce gain credit, but be looked on as the Tragical contrivance of some deeply-Melancholy wit. Some Princes have been by their prevailing Conquerors put to death, others have been assassinated by their own Subjects. But to see a Sovereign Prince brought to the Pageantry of a Mock-trial, and by a Court made up of his own Subjects on a pretence of Justice sentenced to lose his life ; not in the corner of some private Prison , but in the chief City of his Dominions, and in the most eminent place of it, is an evidence of the degeneracy of the age we live in, that would dare to act what in former ages none would have thought on.

What *Phocas* did to the Emperour *Mauritius*

ritius is the nearest parallel to it which History offers, but comes far short of matching it; for neither were the Rights of the *Roman* Emperours derived by so clear a Title, nor so long a Descent as our *Royal Martyr's* were; and so no wonder if those who rose by the sword did also fall by it. Nor did *Phocas* so far affront Justice as to pretend to put his Master to a Trial, and *Mauritius* had by so base an avarice exposed so many of his Soldiers to be cut off, and used the rest so ill, that no wonder they in their fury against him were guilty of so foul a Conspiracy. But how much more exquisitely wicked was the crime we now remember, when a Prince (whose Rights were devolved on him, by so many Titles, the *British*, the *Saxon*, the *Norman*, and the *Scotish* Races, having all united in him, (who had also in his whole Government shewed that deep sense of Religion with a most tender regard to the good and quiet of his Subjects) was against all the rules of Justice, and yet upon some colours of it brought to so publick a death. But as *Phocas* as basely treacherous and wicked as he was, was most ignominiously and shamefully courted by Pope Gregory the Great, who

who writes to him in a stile of so mean and servile flattery, that it justly stains all the other good Qualities of that Prelate. And his Successor *Boniface* did yet more meanly comply, and got himself declared by him the Universal Bishop of the Church. From which we may judg of that See, by vvhhat arts they are resolved to rise and to make use of the worst of men if they can but serve their turn. So in this Regicide, Religion was vouched, and God appealed to. And indeed it was no wonder that these treated his Vicegerents so coarsely, that made so bold with God himself, as to pretend he was their Patron and warrant in what they did. And perhaps if these actors had as fully complied with him that pretend to be Christs Vicegerent as *Phocas* did, he had as plainly justified their actions as *Gregory* and *Boniface* did, which might have been far rather looked for now, after all the opinions some of their Emissaries have broached, of murdering Princes, then at that time when their corruptions were but a-forming, and their ambition was beginning to fly at Supremacy and Universal Jurisdiction.

But is all our work only to reflect with
some

some horror on this infamous action ? have we no other concern in this Day ? The Collect tells us, *That the sins of this Nation have been the cause which hath brought this heavy judgment upon us.* We also pray, *That this our land be freed from the vengeance of his blood.* And indeed had not our sins been great, so that the cup of our iniquities was quite full, it could not have run over in a tract of a long Civil War, which brought along with it so much bloodshed, rapine and contempt of all things sacred and humane ; and all was compleated in this crime, beyond which wickedness could go no higher. Those who were so nobly and generously loyal as to serve his late *Majesty* of most blessed memory , do with a just glorying rejoyce in the reflection on their past Services; yet let me crave leave to offer even to them how far they ought to be concerned in mourning and fasting on this Occasion. It was our contempt of God and Religion, our being purely formal in our Religious Worship, our forgetting to acknowledg God the author of our Peace and Plenty, our abusing these by excess and riot, that brought on those sad and unheard-of Judgments. Among the much-abused words of the late time

time were Incendiary and Incendiarism; but those were the great Incendiaries that kindled Gods wrath, and it is from such that we may justly fear the like, or rather severer Judgments, if our sins now be greater than they were then: Therefore the lamenting and repenting of these sins, by which what is past may be forgiven, and what may be feared be prevented, being the proper work of this day; I come now to consider my Text, and what reflections may be drawn from it, though in a case so much without a precedent as this is, it is not to be imagined that a Text wholly pertinent can be pickt up. But we shall make the most of this we can, and consider three things in it.

First, This King whose Death was so much lamented, and in what particulars he was a Parallel, and in what not, of our Royal Martyr.

Secondly, What reason *David* with the rest of the people of *Israel* had to mourn for his Death, and how far that agrees with our case.

Thirdly, How they expressed their sorrow, and how far their example calls on us to imitate it.

For

For the first, it was *Saul* the Son of *Kish*, whom God had by the hands of *Samuel* designed to be King of *Israel*, for whom *David* had that respect, that even when he was most unjustly hunting his life, yet he would not stretch forth his hand against him, seeing he was *the anointed of the Lord*. And in this our Royal Martyr was his Parallel, since he was, by a tract of an undisputed Succession, that which *Saul* was by immediate Revelation, the *Lord's Anointed*. And indeed he looked on himself as having his Authority from God, as will appear from the following instances, (which before I mention I must preface with this) that I will not enlarge on the whole field of that Murdered Princes Vertues; for that were both endless, they being so many, and needless, they being so well known: But having by a great happiness seen not a few (I may add hundreds of) Papers under his own Royal Pen; I shall only now offer divers passages drawn out of those that vwill give some Characters of his great Soul. And as in the *Indies* the Art of Painting is only the putting together little Plumes of several colours in such method as to give a representation of vwhat they design; vvhich though

it be but coarse vvork yet the Colours are lively; so I can promise no exact vvork, but true and lively Colours I vvill offer, being those mixed by our Martyr himself, though perhaps unskilfully placed by me. And as the Popish Legend tells of tvvo Pictures of our Saviour done by himself, one particularly vvhich he left in *Veronica's* Handkercher vvhen he vviped his face vvith it; so from the svveat of our Royal Martyr some Lineaments of his Face shall be offered. And to return to make good the character of our late Sovereign, he ovvned all his Authority to be derived from God; and therefore in one of his Papers I find these vvords, vvhen he is acknowvledging the *great blessings, and eminent protection he had received from the hands of the Almighty, he adds; To whom we know we must yield a dear account for any breach of trust, or failing of our duty towards our People.* And in another Paper reflecting on the Demand concerning the *Militia*, he gives the reason vvhy he could not consent to it as it vvvas proposed; *Because thereby he wholly divested himself (as he conceived) of the power of the Sword intrusted to him by God and the Laws of the Land for the Protection and Govern-*
ment

ment of his People, thereby at once disinheriting his Posterity of that Right and Prerogative of the Crown, which is absolutely necessary for the Kingly-Office, and so weakening Monarchy in this Kingdom, that little more than the name and shadow of it will remain.

In another Paper he expresses his zeal to preserve the Lavvs, as became Gods Vicegerent, in these vvords: If we wanted the Conscience we cannot the discretion, to tempt God in an unjust quarrel, the Laws of our Kingdom shall be sacred to us, we shall refuse no hazard to defend them, but sure we shall run none to invade them. And that Paper vvhich is very long, he thus concludes, God so deal with us and our Posterity, as we shall inviolably observe the Laws and Statutes of our Kingdom, and the Protestations we have so often made for the Defence of the true Reformed Protestant Religion, the Laws of the Land, and the just Priviledges and Freedom of Parliaments.

From these Evidences it will appear what severe thoughts he had of the Obligations he lay under to Almighty God, from whom he had his power, and to whom he knew he was to give account of his Administration.

2. We find it is said of *Saul*, that after he was anointed, God gave him another heart, and that meeting a company of Prophets he prophesied to the astonishment of those that beheld him. How much of this Divine Spirit rested on our Blessed Martyr, all those Meditations which were his Exercises in his retirement do abundantly declare. If by *Saul's* prophesying be meant the foretelling what was to come, I meet somewhat very near it from his Royal Pen, *Anno 1642*, in a Letter, wherein he writes these words; *I have set up my rest on the justice of my cause, being resolved that no extremity or misfortune shall make me yield; for I will either be a Glorious King, or a Patient Martyr; and as yet not being the first, and at present not apprehending the other, I think it now no unfit time to express this my resolution to you.* A very overly observer will see much in these words, even without a Commentary. Or, if by prophesying be to be understood an elevated way of trusting in God, and adoring him, then I shall add what I find under the same Sacred Pen, when he was at *Newcastle*, in a Letter to one of his Subjects: *Know that I rather expect the worse than the better event of things; being*
resolved

resolved (by the Grace of God and without the least repining at him) to suffer any thing that injury can put upon me rather than sin against my Conscience. And in another Letter, Now for the sad consequences I know no so good antidote as a good Conscience, which by the Grace of God I will preserve whatever else happen to me.

A third Character we have of *Saul* is that he was very careful to protect his Subjects when in danger; as appears both by his haste to relieve *Jabish-Gilead* when sore pur to it by the King of *Ammon*, and by his engaging against the *Philistines* with so much Personal danger to himself and his Family. Now what our Martyrs zeal for protecting his Subjects was, (I speak not of his care in protecting the oppressed Protestants in *Germany* and *France*, which I leave to the Historians) I shall make appear from the following Evidences. What vast Concessions he made to his native Kingdom every body knows; and therefore he concluded a Paper he signed on his Pacification with them in these words: *And as we have just reason to believe that to our peaceable and well-affected Subjects this will be satisfactory; so we take God and the World to witness that whatever*
Cala-

Calamities shall ensue by our necessitated suppressing of the Insolencies of such as shall continue in their disobedient Courses, is not occasioned by us, but by their own procurement. And in a Letter to one of his Commissioners, there he writes: But if the madness of our Subjects be such, that they will not rest satisfied with what we have given you power to condescend to; which notwithstanding all their Insolencies we still allow you to make good to them; We take God to witness that what misery soever fall to that Country hereafter, it is no fault of ours but their own procurement. And in another Letter at that same time: We take God to witness we have permitted them to do many things for establishing of Peace contrary to our own judgment. How far he complied with their most unreasonable desires to the very great diminutions of his Royal Authority is well enough known.

When he saw them inclined to engage in the Civil War in this Kingdom, he left no mean unessay'd to satisfy even all their jealousies and fears; and therefore in a Paper under his own Pen he writes these words: *We do conjure all our good Subjects of that our Native Kingdom, by the long happy*
and

and uninterrupted Government of us and our Royal Progenitors over them, by the memory of these many large and publick Blessings they enjoyed under our dear Father, by these ample favours and benefits they have received from us, not to suffer themselves to be misled and corrupted in their affections and duty to us by the cunning malice and industry of these Incendiaries.

And when he heard these dismal news of that most barbarous Rebellion in *Ireland*, with what zeal he set about the sending relief to them may appear from the following words of one of his Letters to one in his Native Kingdom after he had lamented the miseries and afflictions, to which his good Subjects in *Ireland* were reduced through the inhumane and unheard-of cruelties of the Rebels there ; and had regrated the delays of sending supplies to them through the distractions of *England* ; he adds: *So that if some extraordinary course be not taken for their present supply , it is not like their miseries will end sooner their days.* Therefore he required them to haste the sending over their Forces, assuring them, That if the Parliament of *England* did not punctually pay them, he would engage his own Revenue, rather

rather than delay so good and so necessary a work ; and that he would issue out such Warrants under the Great Seal of *England*, and grant all their other desires which in reason could be demanded for the advancement of it. And after that, seeing that work went on slowly, he was resolved to have gone in person to have carried it on more vigorously, and to have hazarded himself that he might preserve his People. But finding that Resolution gave great Jealousies to those who censured him whatever he did, he gave it over.

How careful he was to prevent a Rupture in this Nation, not only his great Concessions prove, but his constant offers of Treaty, even when things went prosperously with him, do demonstrate , therefore reflecting on this in a Paper (under his own Pen) he writes ; *We denied not any thing, but what by the known Law was unquestionably our own, we earnestly desired and pressed a Treaty, that so we might but know at what price we might prevent the miseries and desolations that was threatned ; but this was absolutely and scornfully refused and rejected.* And in a Message, which though it was never sent, yet remains under his hand , he writes these words:

words: *And now he conjures his two Houses of Parliament as they are Englishmen, Christians, and lovers of Peace, by the duty they owe their King, and by the bowels of Compassion they have towards their fellow-subjects, that they will accept of these offers, whereby the joyful news of Peace may be again restored to this languishing Kingdom.*

And thus far the Parallel of *Saul* and our *Martyred King* hath held good, but now they must depart from one another; and it shall appear how our late Sovereign was on many accounts hugely preferable to the King lamented in my Text; yet I shall name one particular in which *Saul* had the better of him.

Saul had by his rash Oath endangered *Jonathan's* life, which he seemed resolved to execute, but the earnest intercessions of his People prevailed on him to change these his severe and cruel resolutions. But alas! our Martyr having firmly resolved to save a person he judged innocent, and clear of the Treason charged on him, did to comply with the most pressing desires of his People, consent to the putting him to death: We have seen his fault and the specious colours that led him to it, next let

me lay before you his Repentance, expressed by himself in a Letter, Anno 1642. One thing more, which but for the Messenger were too much to trust to Paper, the failing to one friend hath indeed gone very near me ; wherefore I am resolved that no consideration whatsoever shall ever make me do the like upon this ground. I am certain that God hath either so totally forgiven me , that he will still bless this good cause in my hands, or that all my punishment shall be in this world, which without performing what I have resolved I cannot flatter my self will end here. And he ends that Letter thus : Beside generosity, to which I pretend a little, my Conscience will make me stick to my friends. How deep his sense of that sin, how great his apprehensions of the Judgments of God , and how true his notion of Repentance was, cannot but easily appear upon the first hearing these words.

But for this one advantage, the King in my Text had of the King of the Day , we shall find many great and noble Characters in which he excelled him.

And first, *Saul* pretended some zeal for God, he built an Altar for him ; he honoured *Samuel* his Prophet , he went and destroyed

destroyed the *Amalekites*; but when it might
 serve his turn he did not stick to disobey
 God, he saved *Agag*, and much of the
 spoil of the *Amalekites*, pretending it was
 preserved for offering Sacrifices. He had
 not patience to stay for *Samuel*, but did sa-
 crilegiously offer the Sacrifice himself. But
 our Martyr did not only express great re-
 gard to God in his Prosperity by many high
 marks of his zeal and constant attendance
 on the Worship of God; his great esteem
 of all worthy and deserving Churchmen, and
 his Royal bounty to the advancing all pious
 and religious purposes: But by his constant
 and firm adhering to those Rights of the
 Church, and to all he judged himself bound
 in Conscience to maintain; therefore it was
 that he did choose to bear the greatest dan-
 gers rather than sin against his Conscience.
 When the violence of his Native Subjects a-
 gainst the Order of Bishops had brought
 things to that pass that it could not be main-
 tained without much blood and confusion,
 he judged that God loved mercy better
 than sacrifice, did give way to their fury;
 but with that tender care that became a
 man of so severe and exact a Conscience;
 and this shall appear by some evidences I

go to mention. Having signed a Paper of Concessions, wherein he had used the word, *it pleased him*, reflecting on the importance of that, he wrote the following words in a Letter to him that had the managing of that business: *I must desire you to alter one word, that I should not be thought to desire the abolishing of that in Scotland, which I approve and maintain in England. Now the word content expresses enough my consent to have them surcease for the present. But the word, pleased, methinks imports as much as if I desired them to take them away, or at least that I were well pleased they should do so: But I leave it to your ordering, so that you make it be clearly understood that though I permit, yet I would be better pleased they let them alone.* And in the Instructions he gave his Commissioner for consenting to the abolition of the Order of Bishops, he wrote thus: *Carry the Disputes so, that the conclusion seem not to be made in prejudice of Episcopacy as unlawful, but only in satisfaction to the People, and for settling the present disorders, and such other reasons of State.* And he likewise ordered him to take care, *that Episcopacy should not be abjured as a point of Popery, contrary to Gods Law, or the Protestant Religion.*

gion. And at the same time in a Letter to the Primate of that Church he wrote thus : *We do assure you that it shall be still one of our chiefest studies, how to rectifie and establish the Government of that Church aright.* And he adds a little after, *You may rest secure, that though perhaps we give way for the present to that which will be prejudicial, both to the Church and our own Government, yet we will not leave thinking in time how to remedy both.*

After God in his wise and holy, though to us unaccountable Counsels, suffered the Rebellious Arms of his Enemies so far to prevail, that nothing did promise any hopes of his being re-established on his Throne, but the consenting to all the demands of these in whose hands he had cast himself, then did the strict care he had to keep a good Conscience appear, by his hazarding all things rather than endanger his inward quiet ; and therefore he told them : *That when he was satisfied in his Conscience with the lawfulness of what they desired, then, but not till then, could he grant their demands ;* and was willing to enter in conference with any they would appoint about these two Points, the one being the Divine Appointment.

ment of Bishops, and the other his being obliged to defend them by his Oath of Coronation. And the account of one of his Discourses I have seen, is thus: *That he would run the hazard of all his Crowns below, rather than endanger that above; and that though the quiet of his Kingdoms, and the settlement of his Throne were very valuable; yet the peace of his Conscience must be preferred by him to all things.* And in a Discourse he had, which he wrote with his own Pen, he used these words: *Not to stay you too long upon so unpleasing a subject; I assure you that nothing but the preservation of that which is dearer to me than my life, could have hindered me from giving you full satisfaction; for upon my word all the dangers and inconveniences which you have laid before me do not so much trouble me, as that I cannot give full satisfaction to the desires of my native Country; especially being so earnestly pressed upon me: And yet here again I must tell you (for in this case repetitions are not impertinent) that I do not give you a denial; nay, I protest against it, and remember it is your King that desires to be heard.* And in another Paper he sent to those that governed then in his Native Kingdom, he writes these

these words : *If it be so clear, as you believe, that Episcopacy is unlawful, I doubt not but God shall so enlighten mine eyes, that I shall soon perceive it ; and then I promise you to concur with you fully in matters of Religion ; and therefore he subjoyns, He hopes they would not press him to do that which was yet against his Conscience, until he might do it without sinning. And he concluded that Paper with a Postscript to the Ministers : That he hoped they, as Ministers of Gods Word, would not press upon him untimely the matter of Church-government, until (he adds) I may have leisure to be so perswaded, that I may comply with what they desire without breach of Conscience ; which I am confident they, as Church-men cannot press me to do. And in these conscientious Resolutions he was so firm, that in a private Letter he writes thus : For Gods sake do not so much as expect, much less linger after any other or further matter from me ; for upon the faith of a Christian you shall have no more than what is now laid before you. And in another Letter : As for your Covenant, when, and not before, that I shall be satisfied in my Conscience that I may allow it, I will. He going on grounds so strict and well-pleasing to God, it was no wonder*

wonder he maintained that serenity of mind, that when he got Letters that told him how he was to be used, being engaged at Chess, he continued to play after he had read his Letters, without shew of any commotion or disturbance, which I have seen under the hand of an eye-witness. And in the Moneth of *March* before his Martyrdom, when he was almost out of all hopes; yet he would not depart from these Christian Resolutions, which I find thus expressed by his own Pen: *For any enlargement concerning Church-affairs I desire you not to expect it from me, for such expectations have been a great cause of this my present condition, which I assure you I am still resolved rather to suffer than to wrong my Conscience or Honour, which I must do if I enlarge my self any thing in these points.* These are some of the true Characters of a Defender of the Faith; of one that did approve himself to be under God and Christ, the Supreme over the Church, and of one that was indeed fitted to bear all things, rather than sin against God or his Conscience.

2. Another Character of *Saul* is his cruelty, which was so enraged that he spared neither Son-in-law nor Son, but threw his darts at them to have killed them, and his
cruelty

cruelty against *David* was also joined with perfidy and breach of trust ; for after he had given him the most sacred assurances, he still continued to pursue him, and caused to be murdered fourscore and five Priests for the pretended fault of one which he believed upon the delation of an *Edomite*. This was a fact both so cruel and so impious, that he could find none to execute it, but that uncircumcised Alien, and all this was the effect of that evil Spirit was let loose upon him, when by his sins he had driven away the good Spirit of God. But our Royal Martyr did daily shew more and more Evidences of a truly Divine and Christian Spirit: What full Indemnity and Oblivion did he offer his Enemies ! even though they would not allow any Indemnity to his Friends. And how much he was against all cruel or severe practices may appear from these Evidences; one is under his own hand, in these words: *The present distractions about Religion are so great, and of that nature, that perswasion as well as power must be used to restore that happy tranquillity which the Church of England hath lately and miserably lost ; for certainly violence and persecution never was nor will be found a right way to*

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settle

settle peoples Consciences. And this went so far with him, as to give him a strong aversion to the excuting sanguinary Laws against even the Emissaries of Rome, which I find he thus expresses in a Paper written with his own Pen : *Concerning Goodman the Priest, the reason why I reprieved him is, that, as I am informed, neither Queen Elizabeth, nor my Father, did ever allow that any Priest in their times was executed meerly for Religion ; which to me seems to be this particular case ; yet seeing I am pressed by both Houses to give way to his Execution, because I will avoid the inconvenience of giving so great a discontentment to my People , as I perceive this mercy may produce, I remit this particular case to both Houses ; but I desire you to take unto your serious consideration the inconveniences which, as I conceive, may upon this occasion fall upon my Subjects and other Protestants abroad ; especially since it may seem to other States to be a severity with surprize ; which I, having thus represented, do think my self discharged from all ill consequences, that may ensue upon the execution of this person.* For his fidelity in observing his Treaties, I have already in another branch of this Discourse mentioned some passages that shew how

how religiously he resolved to observe them; and his refusing to serve his Interests by Promises, which how useful soever they might have been to him, yet since he could not with a good Conscience observe them, he would not make them, shews how sacred he accounted all his Promises; and his offering to quit the command of the *Militia*, either for a determinate number of years, or for his whole life, shews how carefully he intended to observe all he promised; since he was willing to give such a security, which as it was strong, so it diminished his Authority in the most tender and most sacred part of it.

I shall to these add only one instance. When he saw those of his Native Kingdom engaging in the War against him, in this Kingdom, it is obvious enough how much the securing *Berwick* might have advanced his service, and his Armies in the North could easily have done it; yet since by the Treaty with that Kingdom it was not to be garrisoned; so religiously did he observe the Treaty, that he would not put a Garrison in it: But that fidelity was not minded by those who conspired against him, who did, notwithstanding the Treaty, Garrison

the place ; upon which occasion he wrote what follows : *No industry hitherto could have so far prevailed with us as to have gained any belief that our Scotch-Subjects would countenance, much less assist this bloody Rebellion in England ; yet we know not how to understand the levying Forces both Foot and Horse within our Native Kingdom, and their entering the Town of Berwick in a hostile manner. Our most malicious Enemies must bear us witness, how religiously we have observed these Articles on our part ; whereas if we had not been more tender, than the advisers of this breach have been, of the Publick Faith, it is obvious to any how easily we could have secured that Town from all Rebels. And after he had refuted the Pretence they made use of, he adds : Such then as shelter themselves under that pretext, will find from thence but a slender warrant before God, who knows the integrity of our heart, and how inviolably we intend to preserve all that we have granted that Kingdom, so long as they suffer themselves to be capable of our Protection, and those favours. He likewise wrote in another Letter at that same time these words : Such high indignities to us, and to our Authority make us believe they have forgot they have a King,*

King, and their Oaths in preserving us in our just power, as their King. But God will discover and punish such undutiful thoughts, how closely soever they be clouded with pretences of safety to Religion and Liberty, which they know will be ever dearer to us than our own preservation.

3. And to close up this Parallel, *Saul* when in danger, betook himself to the basest Arts, and went to the *Witch at Endor*, to ask Responses about the event of that Battel he was to give the *Philistines*, not considering how he had provoked God to withdraw his protection from him, and that all the powers of Hell, and evil Spirits were no longer able to preserve him; and having got a sad answer to his over-curious Question, (the common fate of all who will by these forbidden Arts thrust into the secrets of the Divine Councils), we find him woefully faint-hearted, sore afraid, fall flat on the ground and refuse to eat. And after that fatal Battel he had neither the courage to out-live it, nor the strength to finish his desperate design upon himself; but after he had fallen on his own Sword, he called an *Amalekite* to compleat that Self-murder, which he begun by his falling on his Sword, and

and finished by these cruel Orders he gave. But nothing of all this belongs to our Royal Martyr, who depended on God, and submitted to his will in the course of all his Councils, both of Peace and War; And when it pleased God for the punishment of his People, to expose him to the malice and cruelty of his Enemies, even then he proved more than Conquerour; and according to the prospect he had of it long before, he was a *Patient Martyr*: Nor did he express the least meanness of spirit when brought lowest, he would neither give up the Rights of the Church nor the Crown, of People nor Parliaments, to their insulting pride, who trampling on all Laws Sacred and Humane, had made themselves the sacrilegious Masters of his Person and Power. And as he was not cowardly or languid under all his misfortunes, so he maintained his Authority as long as he was able, and did not faintly despond, nor abandon his own Rights, or the Protection of his People. But this leads me to the sad part of my Discourse, wherein I am to compare the Reasons we have for mourning, with these *David* and the People of *Israel* had on this Occasion, and it will be easily allowed, ours must

must be by so much the greater, by how much our Royal Martyr did exceed their King, which hath been demonstrated in the Parallel I have given.

First, This Kings Death was his own Deed; and though the Victory his Enemies got, drave him to that despair, yet none of the People were of accession to it: and for the *Amalekite* (if his relation was true) as it was an Alien from their Commonwealth that did it; so *Saul* was well served for not destroying the *Amalekites*, as *Samuel* had commanded him; therefore they had no particular reason to be sorry, but only because they had lost a King, who as he was none of the worst, so he was far from being one of the best Princes. Perhaps *David* had some more reason to fast and mourn, and as his Conscience did before accuse him for cutting off the Hem of his Garment; so now the Arms he bare against him did trouble his Conscience. For though much may be said for *David* in that case, he was the designed heir of the Crown by Gods appointment; he was very unjustly and perfidiously used by *Saul*; he had kept himself on a pure defensive, and *Saul's* being frenetick and possessed with an evil spirit,
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are great justifications of *David's* little Army, or rather Guard; and his being a Man according to Gods heart, ought to possess all with that esteem for him, as not easily to find fault with him, or with any of his actions; yet his Army being made up of men distressed, in debt, and discontented, is a shrewd Indication, that the Cause was not over-good when he had such a following. Besides, his going to live at *Gath* with the Uncircumcised, his cutting off the *Amalekites*, and pretending to *Achish* that he had destroyed his own People by an unjustifiable deceit; and finally his going out with the Armies of the *Philistines*, and professing a great desire to fight against the Enemies of *Achish*, who were no other but *Saul*, his natural liege-Lord, and the Armies of *Israel* (wherein he either acted a very unsincere part, or did really resolve to have engaged against them) are things so manifestly contrary to the Laws of God, that they give a strong presumption, that the whole business of his taking Armes was contrary to Law and Religion. But I shall not enter further into the Dispute, and so leave it; inclining rather to believe, that *David's* Conscience did accuse him, of having

ving failed in his Duty to *Saul*.

But after all this our Case is much more justly deplorable, who did not lose our King by the prevailing power of a hostile Invasion, but by the unnatural hands of his own Subjects, who were (both by the tye of Subjection, by their Oaths of Allegiance, which many of them had sworn, and by their constant professions of fighting for the King, and in defence of his Authority, as they gave it out, for training in the multitude by so deceitful a bait), tyed to the preservation of his person, and yet did wash their hands in his blood; and by their pretending Religion and Justice, in a Fact so contrary to both, did (as much as in them lay) bring the foulest imputations on both that could be. How did this open the mouths of the Adversaries of our Religion, (whom we had justly charged for their seditious and treasonable Doctrines) to insult over us; but without all cause: for as all the Reasons pretended, were but upon the matter the same with those their Doctors have published, allowing but a small change; so those of our true and soundly reformed Church did abominate so foul a Crime, with all possible horror; and, as was most just,

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did both in publick and private declare against it ; and with a generous and truly Christian constancy, endured Sequestrations, Imprisonments, and every thing which that insulting Power put them to, rather than comply with so vile an Action and its vile Actors.

But to all this it may be said, Let these mourn who were of accession to it, that concerns not us. To which I must answer, That such publick Crimes leave a guilt upon the whole Nation, which therefore must be expiated with a publick universal Repentance. And if in the Law of *Moses* God declared, that Blood was a crying sin which called to Heaven for vengeance, and therefore when a Murder was discovered, and the Murderer was not known, there was to be a Sacrifice for the whole People to expiate the guilt ; how much more in a Crime, attended with so many foul and black Circumstances, ought we by earnest Prayers to study to avert these Judgments, which we may but too justly apprehend!

And to this let me add, that there are not so many innocent as those perhaps imagine ; for as *David* here did (it is probable) charge himself for arming against the Lords
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Anointed ; so what reason have these who engaged in Opposition, and Arms to our Royal Martyr, to charge and judg themselves, that they be not judged of the Lord ; who not being satisfied with those great and large Concessions, he freely and willingly offered, did pursue his Person and Life in the Field ; after which it was no wonder others learned to pursue him to the Scaffold. May not the one be said to have killed the King that robbed him of his Revenue, Power and Authority , and every thing was necessary for the maintenance of the Royal Dignity ; whereas the other did but murder *Charles*, after he was spoiled of his Royal Power, and the Government taken out of his hands : Though in a formal Pageantry Writs were issued in his Name. And thus we find the grounds of our mourning grow larger, and take, or rather call in, more mourners.

But in fine, by another advance, a great many more will be comprized within this Duty, even all those who did not with the most vigorous opposition was possible prevent this barbarous Regicide ; which made a foreign Historian, giving account of it, say, it was a wonder how *Englishmen* could

look on and behold so barbarous and unexampled a Crime: Where were the hearts and hands of the brave *English*, whose loyal and noble valour appearing on this occasion, had been a Subject to be celebrated by all the highest and most grateful Remembrances Posterity could dedicate to so glorious an action? Did a pusillanimous fear freeze their courage, when their Head was thus struck at? Did the care of their Fortunes prevail, when they could expect no longer to live secure in the Possession of any of their Rights, when all was in this one Act unhinged? Did the atrocity of the Fact astonish them so, that they were not recovered out of this amazing surprize till it was too late? Or did the suddenness of the Crime prevent their diligence? Or were they so charitable to their Countrymen as not to think any could be capable of committing this Crime, till they were convinced of it by an unanswerable Argument? yet all these palliations or excuses will not serve turn, they should have put all to hazard when they saw the Case so desperate, and all like to be lost. And thus it appears many are concerned to mourn on this Occasion, who perhaps think themselves far from any guilt.

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Finally, there be yet others concerned, who (may be) do not so much as imagin how it may come to their door, and these be the present Generation, who either were not born then, or at least of that age that nothing could be expected from them; but even they must consider that God visits the sins of the Fathers upon the Children; and though no Child is guilty of his Fathers fact, unless he concurred in it, or did afterwards approve it, yet many times the Judgments of God in Temporal things do overtake them for their Fathers faults; which is no more unjust than for the Law to deny the Child any of the Privileges of Subjects for the Fathers faults. From all this then it will appear how much more reason we have to mourn, than the People of *Israel* had on this occasion, who have (to the scorn and insultings of our Enemies) been one way or other so generally guilty in the Death of so religious and pious a Prince.

2. But the People of *Israel* had this great allay to their grief that they had a Prince designed by God for the Succession, who had given such approved Evidences of his great Piety, Wisdom, Valour and Conduct, that their Government was presently
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to take a settlement ; though it is true *Abner* set up *Ishbosheth*, *Saul's* Son, who was followed by all *Israel*, only *Judah*, *David's* own Tribe, adhered to him : But this was after two years War decided, and all *Israel* received *David* for their King ; and still the Government was steady and even, and therefore they had not that reason to afflict them which we had on the occasion we now remember.

It is true the right of Succession was clear and undisputed, but those who killed the Father continued their Crimes by pursuing the Son, and not only driving him from his Rights, but when one of the Tribes of our *Israel*, even that which justly glories in a nearer Interest in our Sovereigns Person, had adhered to him, and crowned him, though with very unjustifiable reserves, then did that party, bathed in the Fathers Blood, thirst likewise for the Son's, and carried the War into that Kingdom; and when the Righteous Heir of our Murdered Martyr came into this, then again did carnal wisdom, and the care of mens Lives and Estates prevail over those strong ties of Loyalty and Subjection ; God having reserved the establishing him on his Fathers Throne to his own
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immediate Arm ; wherein there should be a clear declaration of his wise and wonderful Providence, in turning about the hearts of the Nation to him ; so that to Posterity it will be a Problem, which of the two is the more astonishing, either the Rebellion against the Father, or the recalling the Son, and that some of the very same persons should have been instrumental in both, by the latter action expressing their true and sincere Repentance for the former.

But alas ! the Interval was long ; it was not only a two-years War, like that betwixt *Saul's* Son and *David*, but a ten-years Thralldom ; wherein those that had complained of some small incroachments on Liberty before, did totally overturn all the Freedoms both of Parliament and People ; but to colour this a little, gave a large and unrestrained Liberty in matters of Religion, by which all sense of Order and Regular Government being quite cast off, many by the custom of an unbounded Lawlessness, became habitually *Sons of Belial* ; and as Heifers unaccustomed to the yoke, cannot again be brought under these necessary Restraints and Regularities of Religion and Law. Nay, which is worse, though
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but the effect of the former, many youthful and extravagant spirits being once delivered from all obligation to any piece of Religious Worship, come by degrees to lose all sense of it ; and seeing those irregular and ungoverned Practices of many pretenders to Religion, who were visibly advancing their own Designs under the colours of Piety, they came to imagin Religion was only a pretence by which ambitious men carried on their own Ends ; and the many Subdivisions and different Parties they observed about matters of Religion, made them also judg there could be no certainty where there was so much debate and dispute. And to all this may be added, that by Oaths and counter-Oaths, which they often took, (having passed from the Oath of Allegiance to the Covenant, and from that to the Engagement) their Consciences became seared, and past feeling ; or, being much wounded by such swearing, to avoid the smart of that, they took themselves to these cursed arts of getting quiet in their impious Practices, by throwing off all sense of God and Religion, and setting up professedly for Atheism ; which is so natural a result of what has been said, that I think it cannot be doubted

doubted to have sprung from it. And hitherto I suppose it is unquestionably clear, that we have much more reason to lament the matter now before us, than those had who are in my Text.

3. And now I advance to the third and last Part of my Discourse, to consider what this mourning was, and what ours ought to be ; they upon so sad news and so great a loss, were both very tenderly affected for the Death of a King that had so many good Qualities, that he being dead they had reason to forget his bad ones ; the loss also of so noble a Prince as *Jonathan*, (who may justly pass for one of the bravest *Hero's*, and the most generous Friends that ever was) could not but be very sad, especially to *David*, whose Friendship with *Jonathan* was beyond what is either in History or Romance : and as hitherto all the generous parts of the Friendship were on *Jonathans* side, though we find *David's* returns were as tender, and rather more ; for at their parting when their mutual Friendship set them both a-crying, it is said, *David* exceeded. But now when *David* was to have made returns suitable to what he had received from *Jonathan*, he is snatched away

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by the Sword of the *Philistines*, they had also many brave Country-men that were killed: To this was to be added the sad condition the House of *Israel* was in by so great a defeat; all which concurring, could not but make a deep impression on the hearts of *David*, and the People with him, which did set them to their Tears and Prayers, both for their own sins, and perhaps they reckoned their arming against *Saul* one, and with these they also mourned for the sins of *Israel*, praying God to avert his Judgments, to prevent the mischief might follow, and to recover his People from the ignominy of so bad a loss, and in the end to settle *David* so on the Throne of *Saul*, that their might be under his Reign, Justice and Truth, Plenty and Peace, both at home and abroad. This is a clear fair account of the work of those with *David* in my Text.

And after this the Application will be easie; from which I shall not digress by proving the lawfulness and fitness of Anniversaries, that being so well done by others, but refer my Hearers to *Zachary*, by whom we find the People of God fasted during the Seventy years of the Captivity, the fifth and 7th Month; he also mentions their Fasts of the 4th & 10 Month; though it is plain there are

no such Fasts commanded in the Old Testament; and yet the Prophet is so far from blaming these stated returns that he only blames their being formal and regardless of God in them, and gives them directions how they should have ordered them. But leaving this unreasonable Objection, which is made by none but those who have the chief reason to mourn and fast on this Occasion; I go next to propose what the Nature and Ends of our Mourning and Fasting should be, which I shall lay open briefly in two Points.

1. The one is to mourn before God for the guilt of this atrocious Sin, that if any of us have been (as was before laid open) involved in the guilt, we may wash off the stain of this Sin, which is of so deep a dye, and if we our selves be on all accounts clear of it, at least we are to pray for Pardon to those who were guilty, that God may open their eyes, so as to confess and mourn for their sins; and in this we follow the example of our Royal Martyr, who looking to Jesus the Author and Finisher of his Salvation, who endured the Cross, despising the shame, and prayed for his Enemies, did with Patience run the Race set before him,

and humbly imitate his King and Saviour in pardoning and praying for his Enemies. We are also on our own accounts to pray God to deliver the whole Land from this guilt, lest when God shall come and make inquisition for this Innocent Blood, we be involved in the common Judgments, which cannot fall on the Land so, but all concerned in it must bear their share. But we must not only mourn for this particular Crime, though it be so foul as to need the expiation of many Tears and Prayers, but we must go higher, and look to the first beginnings of the late Troubles; and see what provoked God then to plague us so sadly, and whether we have not re-acted these very Abominations which then stirred up Gods wrath against us. I need not enter into a particular enumeration of our sins before the year 40, and compare them with these that now abound; the comparison would be as invidious as it is obvious. Let every one then call himself to an account, how guilty he is of undervaluing Gods mercies, and the great deliverance he gave to his Anointed, and by that to his whole People; how he abuses our Peace and Plenty into Licentiousness, profanity, and brutal un-

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governed and avowed impiety ; and how he abuses the protection and security Law gives to Insolence, Faction and Boldness ; how he despises the Gospel, affronts Religion, and the Worship of God, either by an impious contempt of it, a factious separating from it, or a bare formal coming to it, without any serious or devout consideration of that Majesty he scorns, by a pretended drawing near him with his lips, when in his heart he is far from him. These and a great deal more of that nature (with which our Consciences will certainly charge us, if we return our thoughts, and call our selves to a severe account for what is past) ought to be now mourned for ; otherwise the formal observing these Annual Returns does but add to our other sins, and enhance our guilt, when we mock God by a pretended Mourning and Fasting.

2. And the only evidence of the Sincerity of our Mourning is, our departing from these sinful courses which may provoke Gods wrath, and from all seditious Inclinations which may be seed for new or worse calamities; for we may with good reason apprehend, if the late Wars and other Plagues have not taught us to repent of our sins, and
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amend our ways, that according to the gradation we find always used in Scriptures, when Judgments are denounced, the next shall be much sadder than any we have seen or heard of. But God is merciful and gracious, slow to anger and ready to forgive, if we turn to him with all our hearts; let us therefore from the deep sense of our sins, and the just apprehensions of the deserved Judgment, turn unfeignedly to God, who hath both by the gentler methods of Love, and the severer executions of Judgments been calling on us to Repentance; let us throw off our impious and debauching Practices, by which we make war against Heaven, daring God by unparallel'd wickedness, and defying him by our unheard-of stoutness against him: But do we think to prevail against God, are we stronger than he? Can we resist his Thunders or his Plagues, Fire and Famine? And though we were strong enough to resist the impressions and injuries of all our Neighbours, yet how easily can God plague us with a Division of Hearts, & such disjointed Affections, that as a body paralytick we fall to ruin and misery with our own weight, & without any enemy.

And for the avoiding this, next to the appeasing the Divine displeasure, let us express

press our horreur of this Fact by a constant, humble and dutiful Obedience and Loyalty to his Majesty who now Reigns, and study to abstain from (not only all these disloyal and unchristian courses, which ended so tragically, but even from) the first beginnings of these Disorders, which as sparks of fire blown on by some seditious Incendiaries, did set us all in a flame; and a serious Review of the late Times, will demonstrate, that the wicked Designs of those Enemies to Monarchy could never have become so strong, if they had not wrought on the more innocent, the inconsiderate zeal of some (who afterwards proved both good Subjects and faithful Patriots), who complaining over-severely of some Errors of Government, did (though as afterwards it appeared contrary to their Designs) give both strength and credit to a Faction which did soon scornfully disdain them, whom at first they owned to be their leaders. So dangerous it is to nourish Factions, which will quickly pass all Bounds. This, I hope, will teach all in the time to come, how carefully and religiously they ought to guard against the cherishing of Discontents, or the possessing the Subjects with Jealousies and Fears, and a contempt

tempt of their Governours, or their Government; and as no man can guard against any sin, without he consider well all these subtle temptations that lead him to it, and all the smaller and less discerned, or observed beginnings of it; so if we truly mourn and fast for the Sin committed this day, we must consider and watch against all these lesser and more unheeded Motions, Jealousies, Fears, undutiful Discourses and Censures, which do insensibly make way and prepare men to all manner of Sedition and Disloyalty, at least, so weakens their dutiful respect to Governours, that faint Services are to be expected from so cold affections.

But I hope past experience will teach us more wisdom, and that this Nation which with so Religious a zeal designs to expiate what is past, will with the same care study the preventing every thing may lead to the re-acting these sad Calamities, of which we have still among us many doleful Remembrances, besides this day of Mourning and Fasting. In which God of his infinite mercy grant we may so repent, that he may deliver us from Blood-guiltiness, and from all other Judgments our sin have most justly deserved. To this God be Glory for ever & ever. *Amen.*

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